

Message Text

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EXDIS -EYES ONLY FOR THE AMB FROM ACT. ASST. SEC. LOWENSTEIN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SOPN, NATO

SUBJECT: "SILVER BOWL" ADDRESS

1. I HAVE CAREFULLY GONE OVER THE TEXT OF YOUR PROPOSED DRAFT. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF PASSAGES WHICH STRIKE ME AS IN CONFLICT WITH THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY. IN DESCRIBING THEM I ASSUME THAT I HAVE THE SAME TEXT OF THE SPEECH THAT YOU DO, SO THAT I CAN USE THE PAGE NUMBERS FOR REFERENCE.

2. THE CENTRAL THEME OF THE "GLOBAL RETREAT OF THE WEST" ON PAGES 4 AND 5 CONTRADICTS THE BASICALLY OPTIMISTIC STATEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY. IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE PRESIDENT SAID: "THE PASSION FOR FREEDOM IS ON THE RISE...TAPPING THIS NEW

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SPIRIT THERE CAN BE NO NOBLER OR AMBITIOUS TASK FOR US TO UNDERTAKE ON THIS DAY OF A NEW BEGINNING THAN TO HELP SHARE A JUST AND PEACEFUL WORLD THAT IS TRULY HUMANE." IN CITING THIS PASSAGE TO THE NATO COUNCIL ON JANUARY 24, THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID: "THERE IS ALSO A NEW FAITH IN THE STRENGTH OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, A NEW WILLINGNESS TO MEET CHALLENGING AND CONTINUING

RESPONSIBILITIES ABROAD." THE VICE PRESIDENT WENT ON TO SAY: "I SHARE THE CONFIDENCE OF PRESIDENT CARTER THAT

TOGETHER WE WILL BE EQUAL TO THE TASKS OF THE FUTURE." NOWHERE IN THE STATEMENTS MADE BY MEMBERS OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION CAN THE SPENGLERIAN CHARACTERIZATION OF THE STATE OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION BE FOUND THAT IS IN YOUR SPEECH.

3. ANOTHER SPECIFIC POINT IS YOUR ASSERTION AT THE BOTTOM OF PAGE 4 THAT WESTERN "CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM HAVE BEEN LOSING CURRENCY." IN HIS SPEECH AT THE UN, THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT: "I SEE A HOPEFUL WORLD, A WORLD DOMINATED BY INCREASING DEMANDS FOR BASIC FREEDOMS, FOR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS, FOR HIGHER STANDARDS OF HUMAN EXISTENCE."

4. THE ILLUSTRATIONS YOU GIVE ON PAGE 5 OF THE DECAY OF THE WEST'S GLOBAL POSITION SUGGEST THAT COLONIALISM WAS A GOOD THING. IT IS CERTAINLY NOT US POLICY THAT THE INDIAN OCEAN SHOULD BE A "WESTERN LAKE." IN FACT, WE ARE SEEKING TO DEMILITARIZE THE AREA.

5. YOUR VIEW OF THE SOURCES OF SOVIET CONDUCT BEGINNING ON PAGE 6 IS NOT REFLECTED IN STATEMENTS BY ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMEN. I ASSUME THAT IT IS BASED ON LENIN'S MONOGRAPH, "IMPERIALISM THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM," WRITTEN IN 1916. OUR SOVIET EXPERTS COMMENT: "IT IS TRUE THAT LENIN'S ANALYSIS SUPPORTS SOVIET TROUBLEMAKING IN THE LESS-CONFIDENTIAL

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DEVELOPED WORLD AS A MEANS OF AGGRAVATING 'CAPITALIST CONTRADICTIONS.' HOWEVER, THIS HAS NOT BEEN A CONSISTENT OR OVERRIDING THEME IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. FOR EXAMPLE, IT WENT INTO ECLIPSE AFTER STALIN'S DEBACLE IN CHINA IN 1927 AND ESPECIALLY AFTER THE SIXTH COMINTERN CONGRESS UNTIL 1935. IT WAS SIMILARLY NOT A PROMINENT ELEMENT OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY FROM ABOUT 1947 UNTIL 1955. SINCE THEN IT HAS BEEN REVIVED TO A CERTAIN DEGREE AND WAS FORMALIZED IN THE LATE 50'S IN THE 'THEORY OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STATE.'

FINALLY TO ARGUE THAT TURNING THE NON-WESTERN PEOPLES AGAINST THE WEST IS THE BASIS OF SOVIET EXPANSIONISM LEADS TO THE FALSE ASSUMPTION THAT NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE LESS-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES ARE NOT INDIGENOUS OR JUSTIFIED IN AND OF THEMSELVES."

6. ON PAGE 7 YOU SAY: "THERE IS NO PRECEDENT FOR A WORLD POWER RENOUNCING VOLUNTARILY ITS IMPERIAL

ASPIRATIONS." BUT HASN'T THE UNITED STATES DONE PRECISELY THAT?

7. THE THEORY OF "PROXY WARS" HAD CURRENCY IN THE DULLES

ERA WHEN IT WAS APPLIED TO KOREA. I CANNOT ACCEPT YOUR ARGUMENT THAT THE CONFLICT IN INDO-CHINA WAS INSPIRED BY THE SOVIETS AS A MOVE AGAINST THE WEST, AND I DO NOT THINK THAT THIS IS THE ADMINISTRATION VIEW.

8. WHEN YOU SAY THAT MAOISM IS NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH EAST-WEST DETENTE, IT DOES NOT FOLLOW THAT THIS IS THE RATIONALE OF DETENTE FOR THE SOVIETS. IN FACT, THERE HAVE BEEN SHARP IDEOLOGICAL AND PRACTICAL DISPUTES BETWEEN MOSCOW AND PEKING ON THIS VERY POINT.

9. I HAVE NO QUARREL WITH YOUR THESIS THAT THE SOVIET
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UNION IS NOT A STATUS QUO POWER ALTHOUGH I THINK THIS POINT IS SUBJECT TO LEGITIMATE ARGUMENT. AS PER YOUR ASSERTION THAT THE USSR'S "PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE" IS TO "REDUCE THE WORLD'S AREAS UNDER THE WESTERN WRIT," OUR SOVIET EXPERTS SAY: "SINCE THE DEBATE BETWEEN STALIN AND TROTSKY IN THE 30'S, THE PRINCIPAL SOVIET OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN TO STRENGTHEN THE USSR AND GUARANTEE ITS SECURITY."

10. ON PAGE 9 YOU CRITICIZE "THE RHETORIC OF SOME OF OUR PUBLIC MEN." I DO NOT KNOW WHO YOU MEAN BUT THIS COULD BE TAKEN AS CRITICISM OF THE ADMINISTRATION. FURTHER, THE "CONVERGENCE" THEORY WHICH YOU CLAIM THEY ESPOUSE HAS ALWAYS HAD ONLY LIMITED ADHERENCE IN ACADEMIC CIRCLES AND I AM UNAWARE OF ANY MEASURABLE SUPPORT FOR IT WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT.

11. ON PAGE 10, OUR SOVIET EXPERTS COMMENT: "RUSSIAN CONTACTS WITH THE WEST WERE EXTENSIVE EVEN IN THE TENTH CENTURY DURING THE KIEVAN PERIOD, AND WHILE THEY WERE ECLIPSED BY THE 240 YEARS OF TARTAR RULE THEY RESUMED UNDER IVAN THE GREAT IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. PETER THE GREAT ENGAGED IN WESTERNIZATION ON A MASSIVE SCALE, CATHERINE BROUGHT THE FRENCH ENCYCLOPEDIISTS TO THE RUSSIAN COURT AND MODERNIZATION OF RUSSIA BEGAN IN EARNEST AFTER THE REFORMS OF 1861 AND 1864. THUS, THERE IS NO REASON TO ASSUME THAT RUSSIA IS CONDEMNED FOREVER TO BE AN AUTOCRACY. FURTHERMORE, RUSSIA IS ONE OF THE FEW MAJOR NATIONS OF THE WORLD WITH WHICH WE HAVE NEVER BEEN AT WAR. THE GREATEST THREAT TO WESTERN DEMOCRACY IN MODERN TIMES WAS POSED BY A COUNTRY THAT WAS NEVER CUT OFF FROM

WESTERN DEVELOPMENTS--NAZI GERMANY."

12. TO SAY THAT "DETENTE IS ANOTHER BATTLE WON ON THE LONG ROAD TO COMMUNIST VICTORY," AS YOU DO ON PAGE 11, IS IN DIRECT CONTRADICTION WITH CURRENT POLICY. IN HIS

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SPEECH AT THE UN THE PRESIDENT SAID: "I BELIEVE THAT OUR COMPETITION MUST BE BALANCED BY COOPERATION IN PRESERVING PEACE, AND THUS OUR MUTUAL SURVIVAL. I WILL SEEK SUCH COOPERATION EARNESTLY AND SINCERELY."

13. AT THE BOTTOM OF PAGE 12 WHERE YOU PRESCRIBE REMEDIES FOR US FOREIGN POLICY STATING, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT ITS PRIORITY SHOULD BE THE "DEFENSE OF THE WEST" AND BE IN THE "COLLECTIVE INTEREST OF THE WEST," THE IMPLICATION IS THAT OUR CURRENT POLICY FALLS SHORT. FURTHER, ON PAGE 13, WHERE YOU SAY: "OUR LEADERS NEED TO STATE WITH CANDOR THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF WESTERN NECESSITIES," THE IMPLICATION SEEMS TO BE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN LAX IN THIS REGARD.

14. ALSO ON PAGE 13 YOU STATE THAT THE SOVIET PURPOSE IS "THE DESTRUCTION OF THE WEST," THAT THE SOVIET "FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE" IS "THE EXACT OPPOSITE OF OURS" AND THAT "NO AMOUNT OF DIPLOMATIC DEXTERITY AND RHETORIC WILL MAKE IT GO AWAY." THIS IS CERTAINLY NOT THE CONCLUSION DRAWN BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WHICH SEES SOME MUTUALITY OF INTEREST BETWEEN US AND THE SOVIETS AND WITH REALISM AND CAUTION SEEKS TO REACH VERIFIABLE AGREEMENTS IN OUR COMMON INTEREST. AT THE UN THE PRESIDENT SAID: "I SEE A HOPEFUL WORLD." HE CALLED FOR AN END TO THE ARMS RACE AND SAID: "WE CAN ONLY IMPROVE THIS WORLD IF WE ARE REALISTIC ABOUT ITS COMPLEXITIES." LATER HE ADDED: "THE SEARCH FOR PEACE REQUIRES A MUCH MORE DELIBERATE EFFORT TO CONTAIN THE GLOBAL ARMS RACE." ALL OF THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS ON ELIMINATING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, ON CTB, ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, AND ON NON-PROLIFERATION ARE BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT "DIPLOMATIC DEXTERITY" MAY YET HELP US TO SURVIVE. WHERE, ON PAGE 14 YOU ASSERT THAT: "IF IT WILL NOW BE FEAR THAT WILL BRING US TOGETHER, SO BE IT," YOU SEEM TO

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WELCOME TENSION AND CONFRONTATION. FURTHER, WHAT "RECENT

EVENTS" DO YOU HAVE IN MIND THAT HAVE SHOWN OUR "INABILITY TO PERCEIVE AND TO MEET IN COMMON A CHALLENGE THAT THREATENS TO OVERWHELM" THE WESTERN PEOPLES?

15. ON PAGE 15 THE ASSERTION THAT THE WEST HAS NOT "FOUND ITS WAY TO COLLECTIVE SECURITY" STRIKES ME AS AN EXAGGERATION. THERE IS NO INCLINATION ON THE PART OF THIS ADMINISTRATION TO "STATE URBI ET ORBI THE WEST'S PREDICAMENT."

16. YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT THE IDEA OF A NEW WISE MEN'S STUDY HAS BEEN CONSIDERED AND DECIDED AGAINST AT A HIGH LEVEL HERE.

17. IN ORDER TO PROTECT YOU FROM CRITICISM AND TO AVOID ANY CONFUSION IN THE MINDS OF YOUR COLLEAGUES ON THE EVE OF THE SUMMIT AND NATO MINISTERIAL, I HOPE THAT YOU WILL LET US REVIEW THE REVISED TEXT OF YOUR FAREWELL ADDRESS. EVEN THE FATHER OF OUR COUNTRY SHOWED HIS DRAFT TO OTHERS.

18. WARMEST REGARDS AND BELATED BIRTHDAY GREETINGS.

CHRISTOPHER

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